

[TAB 231]

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~~~EXCLUDED~~

1972 JAN 31 PM 1 38

HICKS FOR HAK
HA19

DLA727

0311714Z ZFF-1 25X1
FM SALT/VIENNA
TO WHITE HOUSE
ZEM

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY 311714Z JAN 72

FM AMBASSADOR GERARD SMITH, SALT DELEGATION, VIENNA 144
TO THE WHITE HOUSE, EYES ONLY FOR DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
JANUARY 31, 1972

RE WH-20110 AND WH-20113:

DOBRYNIN'S FIRST "INTELLECTUAL" POSSIBILITY (I.P.)--"NO LIMITATION ON SUBMARINES"--PERHAPS DOBRYNIN MEANT HERE TO LIST THE OPTION OF NO LIMITATION AT ALL AFFECTING SL'S. AFTER OUR RECENT CHANGE IN POSITION, A LIMITATION ON SUBMARINES IS NO LONGER AN ISSUE. THIS CHANGE WAS MADE IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET FLAT OPPOSITION TO ANY SALT CONSTRAINTS ON SUBMARINES PER SE REPEAT PER SE AND TO PERMIT THEM TO SUBSTITUTE NEW SL'S ON Y-CLASS BOATS FOR OLD SL'S ON G- AND H-CLASS BOATS. HIS INDICATION THAT A LIMIT ON BOATS MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO A LIMIT ON MISSILES (WH-20113) IS MYSTIFYING AND INCONSISTENT WITH WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED HERE. THE ONLY PLAUSIBLE INTERPRETATION I CAN THINK OF IS THAT HE WOULD WELCOME A DEAL WHERE BOATS WERE FROZEN AT ABOUT THE PRESENT LEVEL--U.S. 41 VERSUS SOVIET 70-75 (AGGREGATING THE Y, G, AND H CLASSES) WITH BOTH SIDES FREE TO SUBSTITUTE NEW BOATS (CONTAINING AS MANY MISSILES AS COULD BE FITTED) FOR OLD BOATS. THAT COULD PRODUCE THE WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE ARITHMETIC U.S. 41 TIMES 24, AND USSR 70-75 TIMES 24 (ASSUMING THAT AS MAXIMUM NUMBER OF MISSILES PER BOAT).

MORI/CDF per C05138217

DOBRYNIN'S SECOND I.P., "LIMITATION ON TOTAL NUMBER OF SUBMARINES". THIS IS ANSWERED BY THE ABOVE COMMENT.

DOBRYNIN'S THIRD I.P., "LIMITATION ON TOTAL NUMBER OF MISSILES WITH FREEDOM TO MIX BETWEEN LAND-AND SEA-BASED". IT IS UNCLEAR IF HE WAS REFERRING TO "TWO-WAY" FREEDOM TO MIX. YOU WILL RECALL DIFFICULTY I SEE IN HAVING SUCH A MIXING PROVISION WHICH CONTEMPLATES AN ARRANGEMENT GOING OUT INTO THE FUTURE FOR A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF YEARS INCLUDED IN A NEGOTIATING FREEZE WHICH, HOPEFULLY, IS A TEMPORARY DEVICE. IN ADDITION, ONE SHOULD CONSIDER THE EFFECT OF FULL FREEDOM TO MIX (BOTH WAYS) ON THE PROBLEM OF MAKING SURE THAT NEW MLEM'S ARE NOT ADDED DURING THE FREEZE. (THERE IS ALSO THE PROBLEM OF AVOIDING A BAD PRECEDENT FOR THE SUBSEQUENT OFFENSIVE LIMITATION TREATY.) IF FREEDOM TO MIX IS DEEMED CONSISTENT WITH AN INTERIM FREEZE, IT WOULD BE SENSIBLE TO CONSIDER FREEDOM TO SUBSTITUTE SL'S FOR IC'S AS SUGGESTED SALT-1164.

DOBRYNIN'S NO. 3 ALTERNATE I.P. IS OR IS CLOSE TO OUR PRESENT OFFER, DEPENDING ON WHETHER IT WOULD PROVIDE SUBSTITUTION OF NEW SL'S FOR OLD SL'S.

I ASSUME THE DOBRYNIN CONVERSATION WAS IN RECENT DAYS. IF SO, ITS COINCIDENCE WITH THE POSSIBLE SOVIET SL MOVE REPORTED VIENNA 128 IS WORTH NOTING.

State Dept. review completed

ON FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

BEST REGARDS
GERARD SMITH

GP-1
400
#3079

~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~~~EXCLUDED~~~~EYES ONLY~~